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A Joachimite Prophecy Concerning Bohemia

RUTH KESTENBERG-GLADSTEIN

I

IN 1202 the famous abbot Joachim of Flora died in the monastery which he had founded at Fiore in southern Italy. During his lifetime he had never left Italy, and it is probable that he never knew that a country called Bohemia existed. Even if Joachim did not hesitate occasionally to concentrate the attention which he normally directed to the broad lines of spiritual development to individual circumstances or persons,¹ it is nevertheless unlikely that he should ever have done so in respect of Bohemia, for whose special interests the abbot could have had no concern. Therefore the *Prophetia abbatis Joachim de regno Bohemie*, which is preserved in six manuscripts of the 15th century,² can have been written only by one of those numerous followers of his, who called themselves 'Joachimites' and thereby confessed their spiritual descent from Joachim.

It is not easy to characterise Joachim and his followers briefly.³ For our purpose it must suffice to refer to Joachim's doctrine of the three 'status' or 'dispensations': the dispensation of God the Father

¹ Especially to the Third Crusade of Richard Cœur de Lion in 1190. Cf. H. Grundmann, 'Neue Forschungen über Joachim von Fiore', *Münstersche Forschungen*, I (cited as *Forschungen* hereafter), p. 48.

² In their conjectured sequence they are:

1. Univ. Bibl. Prag., XII E 13, f. 122 v. (cited as *U*) (shorter version).
2. Metrop. Capit. Bibl. Prag., G. XXIV, f. 528 v. (cited as *C*) (longer version).
3. Nationalbibl., Vienna, N 1291, f. lv. (cited as *N*) (longer version).
4. Munich, Staatsbibl., Clm 14, 3134, f. 26 v. (cited as *M*) (longer version).
5. Staatsarchiv, Vienna, N 22, f. 20 r. (cited as *H*) (longer version).
6. Herzog Ernst August Bibl., Wolfenbüttel, 42 3 Aug., f. 304 v. (cited as *A*) (shorter version).

Professor H. Grundmann drew my attention to the MSS. outside Prague, for which I wish to tender him my thanks. The MSS. fall into shorter and longer versions. In the longer version the Pope is spoken of in unfriendly terms, while the shorter version omits these passages. J. Šusta, *České dějiny*, II, i, 91, note 3, discusses the question whether the antipapal passages are not a later Hussite addition. Šusta's considerations however seem to indicate that the references to the Papacy strongly recall the sentiments current in Italy before the death of Frederick II in 1250. For this reason I consider the longer to be the older version, the shorter the later, as being designed to eliminate any occasion for scandal. Cf. footnote 8, below.

³ The basic study is H. Grundmann's *Studien über Joachim von Floris; Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, 32, 1927 (cited as *Studien*). Cf. M. E. Reeves, 'The Abbot Joachim's Disciples and the Cistercian Order', *Sophia*, XIX, 1951; L. Tondelli, M. E. Reeves, B. Hirsch-Reich, *Il libro delle Figure*, II², 1953 (with an introduction in English). I would also refer to an article of mine in the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, entitled 'Mediaeval Sources of the term "Third Reich"', which draws attention to the three currents of thought which Joachim influenced and to some extent set against each other. See also L. Tondelli, *Il libro delle Figure*, I², 1953; M. E. Reeves, 'The Liber Figurarum of Joachim of Fiore', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, II, 1950; and B. Hirsch-Reich, 'Die Quelle der Trinitätskreise von Joachim von Fiore und Dante', *Sophia*, XXII, 1954.

and of the Old Testament lasted until the Incarnation (*status sub lege*); the dispensation of Christ and of the New Testament would last until 1260 (*status inter utrumque*); and in 1260 the third dispensation, that of the Holy Ghost, would begin (*status sub gracia*). Although Joachim did not say so, his contemporaries could see that his teaching amounted to opposing St Augustine in maintaining that the prevailing state of the world, including the Church,⁴ was indeed the best that was possible between the Incarnation and 1260, but that thereafter a better state must and would begin. The third dispensation would constitute a religious, political and social Utopia, and that in this world.⁵

It was common ground to Joachim's followers that they felt the desire for change, that they too were *rerum novarum cupidi*. But they did not agree as to what the new world should be like. The Joachimites, in the proper sense of the word, were the Spiritual Franciscans, who were cruelly persecuted by their Franciscan brethren, the Conventuals, just because they interpreted the principle of apostolic poverty radically.⁶ But oddly enough the great of this world also took advantage of the Joachimite habit of thought, in as far as they expected a real reigning monarch to become so supernaturally great that he would be the Last Ruler who would bring in the expected Millennium.⁷ It is difficult to decide how far those who thought in this way believed in the role which they allotted to the Last Ruler, or how far they wished to create a belief in him. The Bohemian Prophecy belongs, as will be shown, to the second group of the Joachimites, the prophets of the Last Ruler; the Prophecy is as follows:

II

Prophecia abbatis Joachim de regno Boemie

In etate sexta huius seculi sub districtu Aquilonis et Germanie regionis, partim semine Cesareo partim Germanico leo rugiens

- l. 1 Prophecia MHKNU; antiqua Prophecia A. abbatis Joachim A; Joachim abbatis U; abbatis *om.* MHKN. regno MAU; regibus NHK. Boemie] et Turkige A.
- l. 3 regionis] nacionis M. partim . . . Germanico MKHN; partim seminis Cesaree partim germanice U; partim germanis Cesarie partim germanice A; partim de germanico M.

⁴ I.e. including the Institution which he called the *Civitas dei in terrenis*.

⁵ E.g. Joachim says: 'Datum est unicuique habere quod habet, ut qui habet non tam sibi quam proximis sese accepisse letetur. Nec sibi proprie datum extimet set in se aliis esse putet.' *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, Venice, 1527, f. 78 c.

⁶ Cf. E. Benz, *Ecclesia Spiritualis*, 1934.

⁷ Cf. F. Baethgen, 'Der Engelspapst', *Schriften der Königsberger gelehrten Gesellschaft*, X, 1933.

cum cauda fissa orietur. Hic erit ferus homo, manus eius contra
 5 Scitas, Elamitas et Medos et manus illorum contra eum
 extendentur, donec ipsi una cum Grecis incurventur coram
 eo. Paterno privabitur nutrimento, traditus doctrine peregrine
 ad alendum. Naturali ingenio et materia rationis informatus,
 occupabit nidum aquile et pennas alarum titulo occasionis eius
 10 suis terminis vendicabit. Contra meridiem alas suas levabit;
 extendet enim fines tabernaculi sui usque ad mare Adriaticum,

- l. 4 fissa MHKN; scissa AU.
- l. 5 Scitas MHKNA; sitas U. Elamitas NKA; Elamites M; clamitas H; calamitas U. Medos U; *om.* A.
- l. 6 Grecis AU; Greco MHKN.
- l. 7 eo MNKAU; *om.* H. paterno MHKNU; paterne A.
- l. 8 ad alendum] doctrinaliter MHKN.
- l. 8 materia rationis informatus MHKN; veritate rationis informatus U; materia notandum (?) informabitur A. occupabit MHKN; tenebit AU.
- ll. 9/10 occasionis huiusmodi AU. terminis MHKNA; dominiis U. vendicabit AU; vendicando MHKN.
- l. 10 levabit HAU; sublevabit MNK.
- l. 10 adriaticum HMAU; adriacum NK. parte NKH; partes M.

- ll. 4/6 manus eius contra Scitas Elamitas et Medos, et manus illorum contra eum extendentur: cf. VA (i.e. the second prophecy about Frederick of Thuringia; see p. 44, n. 20): extendet ramos suos (alas suas) usque ad ultimos fines terre (Ebendorfer, ed. Pribram, *Mittheilungen des Inst. für Österreich. Gesch.*, 3 Erg. Band, 1892); RM (i.e. the first prophecy about Frederick of Thuringia; see p. 43, n. 16): cuius potencie brachia extenduntur usque ad finem mundi (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Scriptores*, XXIV, p. 207); *Joachimi commentarium in Jeremiam*: qui (Babylon) manus contra omnes extenderat, contra eum manus omnium extendentur (ed. Venice, 1525), p. 61s.
- l. 5 Scitas Elamitas et Medos: cf. *Acts* ii, 9 and *Colossians* iii, 11.
- l. 6/7 incurventur coram eo: cf. *Joachimi commentarium in Isaiam*: coram eo incurvabitur Siculus (ed. Venice, 1517), p. 31r; cf. *Genesis* xxvii, 29.
- l. 7 Paterno privabitur nutrimento: cf. VA: alimento paterno carebit.
- l. 8 Naturali ingenio et materia rationis informatus: cf. *Verba Merlini*: Multum confidet in prudentia sua. (*Neues Archiv*, XV, p. 176.)
- l. 10 alas suas: cf. VA: extendet alas suas . . .
- l. 11 extendet enim fines tabernaculi: cf. *Gen.* xxvi, 25: extendet tabernaculum; *Comment. in Isaiam*, p. 35r: Antichristus figet tabernaculum suum . . . super . . . montem . . . sanctum.

ubi parte ratis Petri emula, colubro occidentis vel ceraste orientis interempto, Afer et Siculus et Apulus servient ei et Calaber dissimilabit gressum eius. Quoniam in tantum de
 15 gressu in passum cornu eius exaltabitur, ut eciam navem Petri submergere posse videatur. Subvertet montes Aquilonis et saltus Europe planos faciet, habitatoribus Aquilonis et vento Austri

- ll. 12/13 parte . . . interempto MHKN; AU *om. et ponunt* emulis suis devictis.
 l. 12 emula NHK; emulo M. ceraste HM; cerasten NK.
 ll. 13/14 Afer NHKA; Aser U; affrica M. et Siculus MNKAU; et *om.* H. Apulus H; Apulius MNK; Apules AU. et Calaber . . . videatur MHKN; *om.* AU. calaber NK; celaber H; coluber M. gressum eius apokalipsis quartusdecimus M; apostolorum quartusdecimus NHK. *Glossam marg. quae pertinuerit ad, l. 24, p. 38: Ve tibi Babilon, huc falso intrusam puto.*
 l. 14 in tantum NK; in catum H; iteratum M.
 l. 15 passum NKH; passim M.
 l. 16 posse NKH; *om.* M. Subvertet NKHAU; *om.* M; in tantum omnes *ponit* M; enim *add.* NHK. et saltus: et ut saltus M.
 l. 17 Europe MHKNA; *om.* U. faciet NKAU; Faciat M; scient H. aquilonis et vento MHKN; *om.* AU. austri NHKA; austro M; austrie U.

- l. 12 parte ratis Petri emula: cf. 'Prophetische Streitverse', *Neues Archiv*, XXX, p. 338: Fluctuat at numquam mergitur illa ratis; *Comment. in Isaiam*, p. 59r: (Frederick II) erit caput draconis septimum, Antichristi preambulum vicarium Christi emulum et mahometicis nationibus coherendum.
 ll. 12/13 colubro occidentis vel ceraste orientis: cf. *Gen.* xlix, 17: Fiat Dan coluber in via, cerastes in semita.
 l. 15 cornu eius exaltabitur: cf. *Psal.* cxi (A.V. cxii), 9: cornu eius exaltabitur in gloria.
 ll. 15/16 ut eciam navem petri submergere posse videatur: cf. 'Politische Streitverse' *ut supra*, p. 342: Responsiva Pape Frederico:
 Niteris incassum navem submergere Petri.
 Fluctuat, sed numquam mergitur illa navis.
 ll. 16/17 Subvertet montes Aquilonis et saltus Europe planos faciet: cf. *Isaiah* xl, 4; *Luc.* iii, 5; *Telesphorus* (MS. O LIII Capituli metrop. Prag.), p. xliia: tota terra erit sicut paradisus et planabitur. Cf. Meister Sigeher (Hagen, *Minnesinger*, II, p. 364:
 ein Béheim wert, Otacker, der des riches erbe noch sol witen
 ob ers gert,
 sîn wirt eben, berc unt tal und alle lîten.)
 ll. 17/18 habitatoribus Aquilonis et vento Austri onus erit: cf. *Ezech.* xxvii, 26.

onus erit, et cibus eius sanguis, donec veniet ex eiusdem femore oriundus. Et ipse erit expectatio Germanie et partis ratis Petri,
 20 ad cubandum impetet tegmen fagi nec ibi requiem inveniet anima eius. Calefaciet enim deus cor illius spiritu oris sui, et passagium faciet in itineribus ultra aquas congregatas, meridiem atque aquilonem expectationi Germanie relinquendo. Sedebit in Syon accubando, resarciens Jerusalem interruptam. Ve tibi
 25 Babilon et Damasce, quia leo rugiens tributa tibi abstrahet.

- l. 18 erit NHKAU; eius M. veniet HMAU; veniat NK.
 l. 19 Et ipse MHKN; qui *add.* AU. germanie NHKAU; germanica M.
 ll. 19/21 et partis . . . anima eius MHKN; *om.* AU.
 ll. 20/21 requiem inveniet HM; inveniens requiem KN. Calefaciet enim deus MHKN; nam deus calefaciet AU.
 l. 21 Calefaciet . . . oris sui MHKN; *post* congregatas *inserit* AU. Calefaciet MNKAUH. enim NKHAU; carum *add.* M; eorum *add.* K.
 l. 22 passagium NHKAU; passum M.
 ll. 22/23 meridiem . . . relinquendo MHKN; *om.* AU.
 l. 23 germanie NHK; germanice M. relinquendo HMK; reliquendo N.
 l. 24 accubando AU; recubando MHKN.
 interruptam HU; interrupta MA.
 ll. 25/26 tibi abstrahet AU; abstulit MHKN. emittet MHKNU; enuete (?) A.

- l. 18 cibus eius sanguis: cf. Joachim Abbas, *Vaticinia*, Venice, 1515, *Secundum vaticinium in Martinum IV*: Mars sitiens sanguinem.
 ll. 18/19 donec veniet ex eiusdem femore oriundus. Et ipse erit expectatio germanie: cf. *Gen.* xlix, 10: Non auferatur sceptrum de Juda et dux de femore eius, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium. Cf. *Jerem.* xiv, 8 and xvii, 13: expectatio Israel.
 l. 20 ad cubandum impetet tegmen fagi: cf. Vergil, *Ecloga* I, 1:
 Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi.
 Nec ibi requiem inveniet: cf. *Isaiah* xxiii, 12: ibi quoque non erit requies tibi.
 l. 21 spiritu oris sui: cf. e.g. *II Thess.* ii, 8.
 l. 22 passagium faciet in itineribus ultra aquas congregatas: cf. *Visio* (*M.G.H. SS.*, XVII, p. 605): tunc passagium erit ab omnibus fidelibus commune ultra aquas congregatas ad terram sanctam.
 ll. 23/24 Sedebit in Syon accubando resarciens Jerusalem interruptam: cf. *Visio*, *ut supra loc. cit.*: civitas Hierusalem gloriabitur et omnes civitates Judee reedificabuntur.
 ll. 24/25 Ve tibi Babilon: cf. p. 37 *supra*, textual note to ll. 13/14; *Apoc.* xiv, 8: Cecedit, cecedit Babylon illa magna; cf. also *Apoc.* xviii, 10. et Damasce: cf. *Isaiah* viii, 4 and *Jerem.* xlix, 24.

Cananea de Syon emittet vocem suam. Tyrus, Sydon et Anthiochia servient ei; usque quo tu Alexandria et princeps Miramomeline recalitras? Et ecce post modicum et ipsi sequentur leonem in lustris recubantem. Intercursu itaque parvo tempore plurimi
 30 legati diversarum nacionum ad eum convenientes mirabuntur super exaltacionem eius et pavebunt eum omnes fines terre. Tandem nonagesimo primo anno etatis sue exhibit spiritus eius a corpore resolutus. Tumulus eius erit in terra sancta, spiritus eius astra petens inter divos computabitur.

- l. 26 Cananea . . . vocem suam *ante* Ve tibi (l. 24) *transponendum puto*.
 l. 27 quo MNKHAU; *om.* H.
 l. 27 et princeps MHKNA; ac princeps U. Miromamoline M; Muomaruoline H; Muonnamolnie N; Muonnamolie K; Momomaldine U; Meruomaldine A.
 ll. 28/29 post modicum NHKAU; postmodum M. sequentur AU; secuti sunt MHKN. recubantem MHKN; recumbentem AU. leonem MNKAU; lenoem H.
 ll. 29/30 Intercursu NHKAU; Intersursu M. diversarum MHKNAU; diversorum A.
 l. 30 convenientes HU; concurrentes MK; recurrentes N; commoventes A.
 l. 32 primo A; *om.* U. etatis sue AU; *om.* MHKN. anno etatis sue A; etatis sue anno U.
 l. 34 computabitur MHKN; reputabitur AU.

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- l. 26 Cananea de Syon emittet vocem suam: cf. *Ezech.* xxxvii, 21–8 and xl ff.
 ll. 26/27 Tyrus Sydon et Antiochia: cf. *Jerem.* xlvii, 4 and I *Maccab.* xi, 56.
 l. 27 Alexandria: cf. *Jerem.* xlvi, 25; *Ezech.* xxx, 14–16; *Nahum* iii, 8.
 l. 31 exaltacionem: cf. Neplach of Opatovice: Quem casum et mortem et exaltacionem in tanto principe Joachim abbas legitur ante navitatem predixisse. *Fontes rerum bohemicarum*, III, p. 477.
 pavebunt eum omnes fines terre: cf. VA, p. I, l. 5 and Henricus de Isernia:
 Quo (Otakar) tremunt hostes et iacent atrita humana tela.
 and:
 Hic illum orbis terre principatum Rex thesaurabit. *Scriptores rerum Polonica rum*, XII, pp. 5, 6.
 Cf. also: *Cronica S. Petri Erfordensis moderna*: cuius potestas antea in multis mundi partibus timebatur. *M.G.H.SS.*, XXX, p. 417.
 l. 32 exhibit spiritus eius: cf. the prophecy about Charles VI of France: emittet spiritum. F. Kampers: *Die deutsche-Kaiseridee in Prophetie und Sage*, 1896 (cited below as *Kaiseridee*), p. 216, and J. Bignami Odier: *Études sur Jean de Roquetaillade*, 1952, pp. 204 and 240.

III

*The Prophecy of Abbot Joachim concerning
the Kingdom of Bohemia*

In the sixth age of this world, in the parts of the North and the region of Germany, there will arise a roaring lion, partly of imperial and partly of German seed, his tail forked. He will be a wild man, and his hands will be stretched out against the Scythians, the Elamites and the Medes, and their hands against him, until they, together with the Greeks, shall be bowed down before him. He will be deprived of paternal nourishment and handed over to the instruction of a stranger for his nurture. Informed by his native talent and the exercise of his reason, he will dwell in the eagle's nest and will claim the feathers of its wings when the opportunity to seize its territories shall arise. He will lift up his wings against the South; for he will extend the borders of his tabernacle to the Adriatic sea, where, in rivalry with the party of Peter's ship, the serpent of the West and the horned viper of the East having been slain, the African, the Sicilian and the Apulian shall serve him and the Calabrian shall conceal his footsteps. For from the rising to the setting of the sun [*or* from step to step] his horn shall be raised so high, that it may seem that even Peter's ship may be submerged. He will overthrow the mountains of the North, and will make plain the high places of Europe; he will be a burden to them that dwell in the North and to the wind of the South, and his food shall be blood, until he shall come who shall spring from his loins. And he shall be the expectation of Germany and of the party of Peter's ship; he will strive to find rest beneath the shelter of the beech-tree, but his soul will find no rest there. For God shall make warm his heart with the breath of his mouth, and he will make the Passage [*of the Crusade*] by the ways of the heaped-up waters, leaving the North and the South to the expectation of Germany. He will sit in Zion and lie down therein and restore the destruction of Jerusalem. Woe to thee Babylon and Damascus, for the roaring lion will take tribute of thee. The voice of the Canaanite woman shall resound from Zion. Tyre, Sidon and Antioch shall serve him; how long wilt thou Alexandria and the Prince of Islam strive against him? And behold! even they after a little while will follow the lion as he lies in his den. And so when a short time has passed many ambassadors of diverse nations will come to him and will marvel at his greatness and all the ends of the earth shall fear him. At last in the ninety-first year of his age his spirit will be released from his body and depart from him. His tomb shall be in the Holy Land, and his spirit will seek the stars and be numbered among the gods.

IV

However even the translation does not contribute much to the understanding of this dark prophecy. This can be achieved only by the laborious interpretation of the individual allusions. The main question is: to whom does the Prophecy relate? What persons, or kings, are intended by the two lions?⁸ In the Prophecy there is one definite starting-point for approaching a solution, namely that the hero will extend his government southwards to the Adriatic Sea.⁹ This fits neither Robert of Naples nor any other Italian ruler, but it does fit Přemysl Otakar II who, with the acquisition of Pordenone in 1271, had become the only Bohemian king to reach the Adriatic. In the same year Otakar's long-hoped-for son was born whose existence the Prophecy assumed, since it spoke of a second lion sprung from the loins of the first, who would be buried in the Holy Land and whose spirit would strive to reach the stars.

With this interpretation the heraldic figure of the double-tailed lion is in agreement. This symbol had for the Bohemians of that time the charm of novelty¹⁰ and gave a certain air of actuality to the Prophecy.

So 1271 must be the *terminus post quem* of the Prophecy. The dating of this kind of prophecy can be established only by investigating when the past events, which are cast in the form of events to come, no longer fit the historical data. The past which is well known to contemporaries will be described as if it were the future, in order the better to understand the forecast of the real future, and so of the actual prophecy. The *terminus ante quem* must be the year 1277, for up to 1276 Otakar, despite the election of Rudolph of Habsburg in 1273, had not given up his aspiration to become King of the Romans.

⁸ Though the Prophecy has never been published, it is not unknown to Czech scholars. Menčík (*Česká prorocství*, 1879, p. 9, n. 2) cites from MS. *H* the title and first sentence. Urbánek ('K české pověsti kralovské', *Časopis společnosti přátel starožitnosti v Praze*, 1915-17, 1917, p. 67, n. 1) drew attention to MS. *U. J.* Šusta (*České Dějiny*, II, 1, p. 91, n. 3) must have known several MSS. of the Prophecy, since he says that it is found only in MSS. of the 15th century. According to Urbánek it is only a reinterpretation of an Italian prophecy of 1311 originally relating to King Robert of Naples which was applicable to Bohemia since it spoke of a roaring lion with forked tail. Urbánek thinks the Prophecy bears a resemblance to that concerning Henry VII (ed. Kampers, *Kaiseridee*, p. 213). Šusta, on the contrary, held the Prophecy to be clearly of Bohemian origin. He refers to a prophecy ascribed to the famous Abbot Joachim according to which Přemysl Otakar II was, as the 'Angel King', to win the Holy Land, give good government to the whole of mankind, and find an honoured grave in Jerusalem. Šusta connects the Prophecy with Přemysl Otakar II and places it in the class of 'prophecies of angelic rulers'.

⁹ 'Contra meridiem alas suas levabit. Extendet enim fines tabernaculi sui usque ad mare Adriaticum.'

¹⁰ The imperial eagle, which had been part of the arms of Bohemia since 1197, had been replaced by the two-tailed lion first by Přemysl Otakar II. It was originally on the seal of the margraves of Moravia, its first known occurrence being in 1202 on the seal of Vladislav Jindřich. The Přemyslids then adopted the two-tailed lion as their family arms. Přemysl Otakar II was the first to use his family arms as the arms of Bohemia.

Let me say at once that I believe that the Prophecy is connected with this ambition of Otakar's. For the understanding of the Prophecy it is necessary to be acquainted with the forms in which the imperial aspirations of the age in general and of Otakar in particular were expressed.

Since Otakar's ambitions in detail¹¹ and the means he employed to influence public opinion have been in part the subject of research,¹² it is necessary only to summarise them here. The best-known of the intellectually active members of the Bohemian court are the Italian, Magister Henricus de Isernia¹³ and the German Minnesinger, Meister Sigeher. It is well known that their panegyrics were directed towards the elevation of Otakar to the Roman kingship, but hitherto little attention has been paid to the subject matter of their panegyrics. The examination of the subject matter of the Prophecy will afford the opportunity to do so, and it will be shown that the topics of the panegyrics are in part the same as those of the Prophecy. Besides the influencing of public opinion by poems, letters, and well-composed documents, there was employed another means, clearly the most effective, because it was comprehensible to the widest public, namely, prophecies. It is necessary first to describe one or two related prophecies, and then we shall be able to proceed straight to the Bohemian Joachimite Prophecy.

It was not surprising that the sons of Frederick II and their supporters, the Ghibellines, should have carried on the conception of monarchy in the elevated form with which it had been endowed in their father's chancery.¹⁴ But since their position was anything but powerful they placed their hopes in the future, and an effective

¹¹ Notice the betrothal of Otakar's eldest daughter Kunigunda with Frederick the Brave of Thuringia, who was by his mother Margaret a grandson of Frederick II and therefore the last hope of the Ghibellines. The betrothal was made in 1267 and broken in 1273. Cf. A. Busson, 'Friedrich der Freidige als Prätendent der sizilischen Krone', *Historische Aufsätze für G. Waitz*, 1886, p. 327, and V. Novotný, *České Dějiny*, I, iv (1937), pp. 182 ff.

¹² There was nothing unnatural in that the most powerful king of his time should be ambitious of the Roman crown. The reason why it was not Otakar, but Rudolf of Habsburg, who was finally elected was that in the eyes of the Electors Otakar was too powerful. Czech and German scholars are agreed on that point. Cf. Šusta, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 ff., and most recently, J. Bolland: *Die höfische Umgebung König Ottokar II von Böhmen*, Diss. (MS.), 1945, p. 152.

¹³ On the temper of the court, see Šusta, *op. cit.*, p. 91. On the disputed question whether Henricus Italicus is the same as Henricus de Isernia or not, V. Novotný (*op. cit.*, p. 37, n. 3) comes to no conclusion. Bolland does not deal with the question. I agree with the view of Novák, *MIÖG*, 1908, p. 699, and Hampe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der letzten Staufer. Ungedruckte Briefe. Heinrichs von Isernia*, 1913, p. 34, that the temperamental, culturally ambitious Henricus de Isernia is not identical with the arid civil servant Henricus Italicus.

As neither Dolliner's nor Emler's edition of Henricus's *Formelbuch* was discoverable in Oxford, where I rewrote this paper, and as I have to some extent changed my point of view since I wrote the original version in Prague in 1937 (unpublished), I am therefore unwilling to rely on my old references and will quote from Hampe.

¹⁴ See E. Kantorowicz, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, 1927 (1936), *Ergänzungsband*, 1931.

means of influencing the shape of things to come in the direction which they desired was offered by the prophecies. It was advisable that a prophecy should have a famous name attached to it if it was to gain any credence. The name which at that time would carry the greatest conviction was that of the man who in the 1250's and 1260's exercised the greatest influence on men's minds, and that was none other than Joachim of Flóra.¹⁵

It must have been this train of thought which in 1271 impelled Master John of Toledo,¹⁶ the 'white cardinal', to send a prophecy concerning Frederick the Brave to Germany. A Franciscan friar of Erfurt, before the end of the 13th century, incorporated this prophecy in his Chronicle, and laid stress on the 'author' at both the beginning and the end: 'Ista est propheta Joachim abbatis missa in Theutonia a cardinali episcopo Portuensi.' Then follows the text of the prophecy: 'Regnabit Menfridus . . . regnum Francie redigent in nichilum.' At the end is repeated: 'Hucusque propheta Joachim.'

This prophecy begins with the struggle between 'Menfridus' (Manfred, the illegitimate son of Frederick II) and the lion of France (Charles of Anjou). The lion prevails, but only for a short time. Then it says: 'Orietur enim ramus de radice regni Fridericus nomine orientalis, qui debellabit leonem et ad nichilum rediget . . . Cuius (Friderici) potencie brachia extenduntur usque ad finem mundi. Ipse enim imperans imperabit et sub eo summus pontifex capietur. Post hec Theutonici et Hyspani confederabuntur et regnum Francie redigent in nichilum.' This prophecy was designed to promote the candidature of Frederick the Brave of Thuringia ('Fridericus orientalis'); it has therefore appropriately been regarded as 'election propaganda'.

This Thuringian Prophecy has points in common with our Bohemian Prophecy in content, form of expression, and ascription. The material correspondence lies in the political situation. The Ghibellines were powerless, and the only actual source of strength on which they could count was the Bohemian king.¹⁷ In fact Otakar

¹⁵ On Gerardo di Borgo San Donnino's *Introductorius in Evangelium Eternum* (1254) and the resultant condemnation of Joachim's teaching by the commission of Anagni, see E. Benz in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1931 and 1933, and Denifle in *Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte*, 1885. For the connection of the 'flagellant movement' of 1260 with the Joachimite prophecies, see Tondelli, *op. cit.*, *Liber I*, 2.

¹⁶ This very influential prince of the Church, John of Toledo, Cardinal Archbishop of Porto, was born in England. He was originally a Guelph, but later inclined to the Ghibellines. See Grauert, 'Meister Johann von Toledo', *Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Kl., Munich, 1901, pp. 143 and 155, n. 1; *idem*, 'Zur deutschen Kaisersage', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 1892, p. 113. Grauert published the prophecy in both these places, and also in *M.G.SS.*, XXIV, p. 207, and in *Script. Rerum German.*, I, p. 679. This prophecy will be cited as RM.

¹⁷ See K. Hampe, *Beiträge*, pp. 39, 145; Grauert, *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1892, p. 119; Novotný, *op. cit.*, p. 191. In a letter to his Italian supporters Frederick the Brave called himself 'Frederick III, king of Sicily and Jerusalem' and referred to the support of his 'father-in-law' the king of Bohemia.

was drawn by his political interests, and later even more by his opposition to Rudolf of Habsburg, into the Wettin-Ghibelline camp. Besides the correspondence in form between the two prophecies,¹⁸ what is most interesting is that the Thuringian Prophecy was sent to Thuringia expressly as a prophecy of 'Joachim'.

Some five years after the first there appeared a second prophecy concerning Frederick of Thuringia. It was in these words: 'Veniet aquila, cuius volatu debellabitur leo et veniet pullus aquile et nidificabit in domo leonis, *cuius fructus alimento paterno carebit*. Et illic eligetur unus, cui honor regis non exhibetur. Tandem conspirabunt principes Alemanie et magnates terre Bohemie opprimuntur et leopardus devorabit eos. Et exurget radix de radice aquile, nomine Fridericus orientalis, hic regnans regnabit, imperans imperabit *et extendet ramos*¹⁹ *suas usque ad ultimos fines terre*, tempore illius summus capietur pontifex et clerus dilapidabitur.'²⁰

The basic theme of the prophecy of 1271²¹ was, as the result of contemporary political events and in particular of the election of Rudolf (1273), strongly emphasised in the second Frederick prophecy. The man who 'is elected, but to whom royal honour is not given', is Rudolf, to whom the Wettin-Bohemian faction refused recognition. The 'conspiracy of the princes of Germany' is to be referred to the Diet of 1274 and the 'leopard' is Otakar, who also had to deal with opposition in his own country.²² Both Thuringian prophecies end

¹⁸ For the use of the word *extendere*, cf. *supra*, p. 36, lines 6 and 11.

¹⁹ The Bohemian Prophecy has *alas*.

²⁰ This prophecy, cited as VA, exists in an unusually large number of MSS. Grauert notes eight MS. versions, including one in the writings of the 15th-century historian Thomas Ebendorfer. In addition to the influence of this prophecy in the 13th century, it twice plays a part in later Bohemian history, viz. during the Hussite wars (clearly in an anti-Hussite sense; see Lauchert in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XIX, p. 850) and during the Bohemian revolt in the 17th century. Hence the copies of VA are exceptionally numerous in Bohemia. I have collated the following MSS. and printed editions of Bohemian origin:

1. Hofbibl., Vienna: 3282, f. 39; cf. *Neues Archiv*, 33, 123, n. 1.

2. Balbin, *Miscellanea*, I, v. 226, from a MS. from Zlatá Koruna.

3. České Národní Museum, IV, D. 54, f. 133b.

4. Třeboň, MS. A 16, f. 244a.

5. Čelakovský, *Soupis*, I, 42.

6. A Czech translation, České Národní Museum, II F 8, f. 213a; *incip.* 'Przileti Orel', *explic.* 'kniezstwo rozptyleno bude', 1449 et alias 1469.

7. Jungmann, *Historie Literatury České*, 1849, III, č. 908, says that Dobrovský saw a Czech version of VA in Rokycany, beginning: 'Přijde orel jehož letem wybojowan bude lew. Títte: Proroctví o české země'.

Finally it is noteworthy that there is a hitherto unknown text of VA in a MS. in the British Museum: Arundel 117, f. 147a. VA there occurs on the lower half of a page, the upper part of which contains the 21st Prophecy of the Joachimite papal vaticinations (for which see H. Grundmann in *Archiv für Kultur*., though Grundmann does not mention this MS. which is from Mainz and was written before 1431). VA is in the same hand as that which wrote prophecies beneath the three preceding vaticinations, including the prophetic verses quoted on p. 51 below. The interest of the glossator, clearly from Mainz, appears to be in a new *Fridericus orientalis*, for VA constitutes the conclusion and consummation of the prophecies he has inserted.

²¹ Grauert, *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1892, p. 127.

²² 'magnates terre Bohemie opprimuntur'.

with the promise of Frederick the Brave as the Last Ruler.²³ The second prophecy concerning Frederick bears a resemblance both to the first and to the Bohemian Prophecy.²⁴ These similarities are of particular importance for the understanding of two of the more difficult passages in the Bohemian Prophecy: in speaking of the 'wings of the lion' it says that the first lion 'paterno privabitur nutrimento'. 'Wing' was used metonymously for 'eagle';²⁵ also the phrase 'cuius fructus alimento paterno carebit' is appropriate in the Thuringian Prophecy, for Frederick the Brave had failed to secure his Sicilian inheritance. Further details help to make it seem probable that both phrases passed from the Thuringian to the Bohemian prophecy.

The political situation which impelled Otakar to go along with the Wettins in 1271 lasted to 1276 at least, so that the material correspondence between the second prophecy concerning Frederick and the Bohemian Prophecy is as great as that between the first Frederick prophecy and the Bohemian. The verbal correspondence between the two Thuringian prophecies and the Bohemian Prophecy is even greater. It is different however in respect of the author's pseudonym. The second prophecy, though it exists in so many examples, is very rarely ascribed to the Abbot Joachim.²⁶ But since this second prophecy is related not only to the Bohemian Prophecy but also to the first Frederick prophecy, constituting a bridge between the two, the pseudonymous ascription can have extended from one side of the bridge to the other without being visible on the bridge itself.

We have seen connections between Thuringia and Bohemia in politics and in prophecy; we also find them in the life-history of a man who is of the highest importance for our Prophecy, in that of Magister Henricus de Isernia. He came of a landed South Italian family which was originally Guelph. However, as the result of a denunciation by the Guelphs he was proscribed by Charles of Anjou and made his way to northern Italy, where he came into contact with Ghibelline circles.²⁷ Henry, who had a good classical education and a considerable literary talent, in this environment adopted Ghibelline habits of thought, especially in the sphere of monarchical theory.²⁸

²³ 'Fridericus orientalis.'

²⁴ Grauert in the *Hist. Jahrb. ut supra* indicated the correspondences in the two prophecies concerning Frederick. The words italicised in the text on p. 44 indicate the correspondences with the Bohemian prophecy.

²⁵ Nevertheless the words are not identical: 'ramos' for 'alas'; 'carebit' for 'privabitur'; 'alimento' for 'nutrimento'.

²⁶ Only Mosheim (*Versuch einer imparteyischen Ketzergeschichte*, 1784, p. 1342) prints VA from three MSS. as a 'Joachimite' prophecy.

²⁷ See Hampe, *op. cit.*, p. 33. He was a pupil of one of the outstanding members of this circle, Magister Petrus de Prece, the author (in the exaggerated Ghibelline style) of the *Adhortatio* to Henry of Meissen, the father of Frederick the Brave. In my opinion Henry of Isernia must have worked in this circle with Cardinal John of Toledo or, at least, must have heard of him and of the despatch of 'Joachim's' RM prophecy.

²⁸ Cf. Hampe, *op. cit.*, p. 41; 103, no. 5: 'Stilübung über die Verkündigung einer Kaiserwahl im Hinblick auf Friedrich den Freidigen.'

The gifted master of style was at this time looking for a post, for he was unable to find one with the Italian Ghibellines who had neither power nor money. Henry therefore decided to try his luck beyond the Alps. He made his way to Frederick the Brave, king of Sicily *in spe*. But nearer acquaintance with the lamentable circumstances of Frederick must have disappointed the far-reaching expectations of the Italian master. He left Thuringia shortly after his arrival²⁹ and proceeded to the north-eastern point of the Ghibelline horizon, to Prague. There, after a difficult initial period, he found the post he had been looking for in Otakar's royal chancery.³⁰

We do not have to arrive at Henry's political ideas and their motives by inference; he spoke of them himself unambiguously; from the elevation of Přemysl Otakar to the imperial throne he expected his own elevation.³¹ His pen was at the service of this ambition, chiefly in lofty prose,³² but also in verse.³³ We are not concerned here with the political *émigré* Henricus de Isernia from the moral, but from the literary point of view. What interested him? What were his values? How was his theory of monarchy constructed?

His individual attitude towards natural beauty³⁴ and his dependence rather on classical than Christian models³⁵ has already been noticed. What adequately fits this early Renaissance character of his work is the strikingly frequent use of the word *natio*,³⁶ as well as his delight in conflict and movement.³⁷ Also his monarchical ideal is not very Christian; he has little to say about gentleness and righteousness. According to him it is more important that the ruler should be terrible to his enemies.³⁸ His power to strike fear into his enemies will

²⁹ He was in Pirna early in 1270; at the end of the year he was already in Prague.

³⁰ Circa 1274.

³¹ Hampe, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–2: 'qualem spero in promociione domini (Otakar) . . . , cui servio, me indubitabiliter ascensurum . . .' In particular Henry was hoping for the recovery of his south Italian property.

³² Hampe, *op. cit.*, p. 34: 'His style is passionate, full of pathos, artfully stilted, sentimentally obscure.' But Hampe's estimate is not entirely negative; he describes Henry's style as 'baroque with shadows and highlights'.

³³ See especially the poem on Otakar published by Ulanowski, *Scriptores rerum polonicarum*, 1888, XII, 5.

³⁴ Hampe, *op. cit.*, gives a translation of the attractive description of a garden in Prague.

³⁵ What has hitherto not been noticed and what is important for our purpose is his use of the phrase *etas aurea*; Hampe, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 122.

³⁶ Hampe, *op. cit.*, pp. 75, 105. Though the national *motif* in Henricus de Isernia's later work has been noticed in connection with his authorship of Otakar's famous manifesto to the Poles (1278), so far as I know this *motif* has not been remarked in his earlier work. (The manifesto contains, as is well known, an 'appeal to the Slav peoples for a common fight against the German *Drang nach Osten*'. See Novák, *MIÖG*, 1908, p. 692; Šusta, *op. cit.*, II, i, pp. 253 ff.; Petrov, *Henrici Italici libri formarum*, St Petersburg, 1906.)

³⁷ On this *motif* see below, p. 51, in the Bohemian prophecy.

³⁸ In the panegyric verses referred to on p. 50, n. 51, gentleness and righteousness are not mentioned. On the contrary: 'quo tremunt hostes . . . quem fallax et fulmen veretur gens Hungarorum/quo solo carnifex ille terretur dux Apulorum. . .' Cf. Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, I, p. 406: 'It was peculiar that, probably under the influence of Roman law, there was ascribed to the Caesars not only fame, glory and victory, but also vengeance as the function of the Caesars, their hatred, ferocity, and *lion's* scorn.'

bring him fame, *exaltacio*.³⁹ When we examine the subject matter of the Bohemian Prophecy we shall find these features again.

V

But before we can proceed to that examination there are certain other lines of thought to be found in the Prophecy which must be pointed out. They are also to be found in the German Minnesinger, Meister Sigeher. He expresses the eschatological expectations which I have already referred to in connection with the Joachimites, and which were characteristic of the temper of the age, viz.⁴⁰

Sibillen spruch muoz werden wâr
den si von künigen sprach, deist âne wende:
si jach, diu rîche würden fürsten bar—
owê der jâr!
seht, sô nâhet es dem ende.
Die wîsen prævenz an der zît:
die kirchen sprengen hôch ûf ir gebende.
si hân daz rîche in hônschaft vil gevrit.
Solher strît
machet mangel noch ellende.
Er ist geborn,
bî dem in lambes munde wahsen wolfes zende.
sînen zorn
mûezen künige fürhten. ungerochen sint die brende.
diu buoch uns sagen, bî im werden elliu reht verlorn.
sprechet horn!
bî dem roche kûme stêt ein vende.⁴¹ [Brodt, no. 15.]

The Sybil's prophecy which she uttered about kings must come true, that cannot be prevented. She said that the kingdoms would be deprived of their princes; O woe the years! Look, the end is near. Wise men realise it at last, the churches set up and adorn their headgear, they have often wooed riches in scorn. Such ambition brings many a man to misery. [*Or*: they have often gone a whoring after [temporal] power. Such ambition brings many a man into exile.] He is born in whose lamb's mouth wolf's teeth grow. Kings must needs fear his wrath: the fires are unavenged. The bible says that in his time every law will be overthrown. Blow trumpets! There is barely one pawn by the castle!

³⁹ Bohemian prophecy: 'mirabuntur super exaltacionem eius', p. 39, ll. 30/1.

⁴⁰ The text of Sigeher's verses is that given by H. P. Brodt, *Germanstûbe Abhandlungen*, 42 Heft, 1913, p. 96 (15. Gedicht).

⁴¹ Brodt, p. 117, affirms that 'roche' and 'vende' are the rook and pawn of the game of chess, and quotes: 'Die (zwêne man) stuonden bî sînen zenden sam bî dene roche die venden.' Brodt believes it to be quite possible that this poem was written soon after the death of Richard of Cornwall on 2 April 1272.

Sigeher connects the Last Times with the Sybilline⁴² prophecies and with Antichrist; and the expected ruler who will bring in the Last Times is none other than Otakar:

Her künic, welt ir den stuol erstigen und bejagen
unt ouch daz rîch erstrîten,
so minnet got unt rihtet swaz die wîsen klagen,
sît milte zallen zîten.
ir gebet, daz iuwers vater eigen nie enwart,
unt seht an Alexander, der gap unverspart:
des vert sîn lop in allen rîchen wîten. [Brodt, no. 7, ll. 7-13.]

Sir King, if you wish to attain and obtain the throne and to gain the empire by force of arms, you must love God and put to rights what wise men deplore; be generous at all times, give what your father never got for his own, and consider Alexander, who gave without stint, and for that reason his praise is widespread in all lands.

And again in the same eschatological connection there is a comparison between Otakar and Alexander the Great:

Ein Alexander vuort ein her,
dâ sîn Persâne getorsten wol erbîten,
in hôher wurde mit kostlicher zer,
mit der wer
als man künige sol anrîten.
Nû vuort eins Alexanders muot
eins Alexanders her gesamnet wîten,
eins Alexanders lîp unt ouch sîn guot,
wol behuot
ze ganzen êren zallen zîten
ein Bêheim wert,
Otacker, der des rîches erbe noch sol wîten,⁴³
ob ers gert,
sîn wirt eben berc unt tal unt alle lîten.
sus sol ein Stoufer hiure hôher stîgen danne vert!
unt sîn swert
sol úmb êre als ê Alexander strîten.

[Brodt, no. 18. I have emended his punctuation in lines 10 ff. He puts a full stop after line 10, presumably because it is the end of the second *Stollen*; the sense reads better if it runs on, though it is formally rather awkward: enjambment of this kind is not usual, though quite common. (Translator's note.)]

⁴² The Sybils, of classical origin, were also a prophetic authority in the Middle Ages; nor did their fame suffer in competition with Joachim; on the contrary they and he were bound up together and were quoted and recopied very often. See Holder-Egger's 'Studien' in *Neues Archiv*, XV, XXX and XXIII.

⁴³ Brodt, *loc. cit.*, thinks that Sigeher has in mind Otakar II's Prussian crusade of 1267/8 as the parallel to Alexander's Indian expedition.

An Alexander led his army to a place where Persians dared to await him, in great dignity and costly array with equipment fit for meeting kings in battle. Now a noble Bohemian, with a spirit like Alexander's, leads an army like Alexander's gathered from far and wide, with life and property like Alexander's carefully and worthily at all times, Otacker, who shall extend the heritage of the empire, if he wishes, hills and dales and all crooked places shall be made plain for him. So shall a Hohenstaufen rise up this year higher than last year and his sword shall fight for renown as Alexander did before him.

[Brodt's punctuation would translate: 'Now a spirit like Alexander's leads wisely and worthily at all times an army like Alexander's, life and property like Alexander's. It is a noble Bohemian, Otacker, who shall extend the heritage of the empire; for him, if he wishes, shall hills and dales, etc.']; the phrase *ob ers gert* is very cunningly so placed that it can be taken with either sentence. The punctuation of the MS. gives no clue. (Translator's note.)]

VI

This digression to Thuringian affairs and to the statements made by men of Otakar's court was meant as an introduction to the themes which are to be found in the Bohemian Joachimite prophecy. These themes, which are often only hinted at, and therefore difficult to understand, and in any case astonishing in respect of both time and place, had to be proved thinkable by reference to their having been mentioned elsewhere.

Let us now in conclusion turn to the Prophecy itself. The Prophecy begins with a very characteristic indication of time: 'In etate sexta huius seculi.' The phrase comes from the Old Testament world-week system.⁴⁴ Joachim had equated the sixth age of the world with the second 'status', more particularly with its end. In the final years of the second 'status', that is, in the Sixth Age, he had foretold the coming of the Antichrist and, after his overthrow, the return of Christ and the bliss of the third 'status'. This transition from the second to the third 'status', from the sixth to the seventh age (the 'Sabbath'), during which these events in the eschatology of the process of salvation would occur, was in a special sense the Last Age. The opening words of the Prophecy, therefore, indicate that the Last Age had already come.

Then follows the genealogy of the hero who will arise in Bohemia⁴⁵ in the Last Age: he had through his mother Kunigunda, herself a daughter of Philip of Suabia, son of Frederick Barbarossa, imperial blood in his veins.⁴⁶ This first Lion is throughout described as war-like; he is 'ferus'. He wars with three nations, allegorically named

⁴⁴ Grundmann, *Studien*, p. 77.

⁴⁵ Cf. p. 35.

⁴⁶ Though on his father's side he was Czech. Cf. p. 41, n. 10, for the lion as an heraldic symbol.

Scythians, Elamites and Medes, and overthrows them together with the Greeks. While by the three first-named nations whom Otakar overthrew must in fact probably be intended the Styrians, Carinthians and Hungarians, the overthrow of the 'Greeks' must refer to the conquest of the Byzantine Empire and its consequences in ecclesiastical politics, namely the union of the Greek and Roman Churches, which was one of the most important achievements which was expected of the Last Ruler.⁴⁷

The phrases which follow may perhaps refer to the upbringing of the first Lion;⁴⁸ his native gifts are emphasised ('naturali ingenio')—which fits Otakar II. The Prophecy then returns to the military exploits of its hero and relates the seizure of the eagle's nest and the eagle's wings. It may well be that this is an allusion to Austria,⁴⁹ and 'the opportunity' ('occasionis titulo') might be the Interregnum of 1250 to 1273, when Otakar did in fact secure Austria. Next follows the advance of the first Lion towards the South, first the historical advance of Otakar to the Adriatic, and then the author must have had in mind the empire of Frederick II,⁵⁰ for none but he had ruled 'Africa, Sicily, Apulia and Calabria' to the envy of the papal party—'parte ratis Petri emula'. The concept of the Empire of the first Lion extending over the whole globe ('de gressu in passum') is repeated, and is represented again as an apparent danger to the pope—'ut eciam navem Petri submergere posse videbatur'.

At this point we come up against a phrase which occurs in some of the earlier prophecies which have not been dealt with here,⁵¹ namely in the so-called 'controversy poems' (Streitverse),⁵² which

⁴⁷ Cf. Baethgen, *op. cit.*, p. 78, and *Telesphorus* in MS. O LIII of the Metropolitan Chapter of Prague (Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisů*, no. 1637), f. 100 v.: 'inter latinam et grecam ecclesiam fiet unio in perpetuum duraturam'.

⁴⁸ Although the phrase 'paterno privabitur nutrimento' is neither apt nor comprehensible. Also, how was Otakar II 'traditus doctrine peregrine ad alendum'? Cf. *supra*, p. 36. Can there be a reference here to his revolt against his father, Václav I, in 1248?

⁴⁹ The Babenberg dukes of Austria had had the eagle in their arms since 1248.

⁵⁰ Whether the 'serpent of the West' and the 'winged viper of the East' are allegorical names for actual enemies of Otakar, or whether they are thought of merely as typical enemies of the Last Ruler, it is difficult to decide.

⁵¹ *Vide supra*, p. 37. Unlike those expressions of the Thuringian prophecy which do not fit the Bohemian, the expressions referred to here do make sense.

⁵² See Holder-Egger in *Neues Archiv*, XXX, pp. 335 ff., and XXXIII, pp. 95 ff. Like the Thuringian prophecies, these 'Streitverse' were widely known in Bohemia. F. M. Bartoš published in the *Časopis Českého Musea*, 1929, p. 286, some prophetic poetry about Charles IV of which one line runs: 'sub quo tunc vana cessabit gloria cleri'. (Cf. Holder-Egger, *Neues Archiv*, XXXIII, p. 126.) In his discussion of this prophecy Bartoš raised the question whether there is some link between these 'Streitverse' and the Prophetic literature. In view of what has been said above about the knowledge of this prophecy in Bohemia in the 13th century, it may be said that there is some link. But, though this was the original connection, it is not certain that it was the one which influenced the verses about Charles IV. It might also be possible that the prophecies were brought back to Bohemia at a later date, perhaps by the Dominican friar and professor of Prague University who was also Charles's ambassador to the Curia and to whom Bartoš himself refers. For other prophecies about Charles IV, see R. Urbánek, *op. cit.*, p. 71, and 'Počátky českého messianismu' (*Česká minulost*, spisy filoz. fak. Masaryk. Univ. v. Brně, č. i., p. 19). See also the Arundel

were fictitiously alleged to have been exchanged between Frederick II and the pope. Even after Frederick II's death these poems kept their popularity, so that, like the rest of the Joachimite and other prophecies, they were altered, extended and reinterpreted. Frederick II was believed to have written:

Roma diu titubans, longis erroribus acta
Corruet et mundi desinet esse caput.

The Guelph reply, entitled 'Honorius⁵³ to Frederick', said:

Niteris incassum *navem submergere Petri*;
Fluctuat at numquam mergitur illa ratis.

In this respect the author of the Bohemian Prophecy is decidedly more restrained in his attitude. Despite its Ghibelline associations, neither of its first two references to the papacy is directly hostile. The third and last reference to the pope says that the second Lion will be 'the expectation of Germany and of the papal party'. This is as good as to express the hope that the expected Last Ruler will reconcile Ghibellines and Guelphs.

We now come to the very interesting description of the first Lion, which most emphatically characterises him as the Last Ruler: 'Subvertet montes aquilonis et saltus Europe planos faciet.' The prediction that in the blissful Last Age the earth will be a single great plain is found in a long series of prophecies of the Last Age.⁵⁴ This prediction is stated most emphatically and at the same time most clearly some hundred years after the Bohemian prophecy by 'Telesphorus': 'Terra tota erit sicut paradysus et planabitur.'⁵⁵

This striving for the static, for a uniformity of the earth's surface, springs, as the context in 'Telesphorus' shows,⁵⁶ from the desire that

MS. 117, f. 146 v., for another variation of the prophetic verses with the Ghibelline anti-papal conclusion:

Papa cito moritur, Cesar regnabit ubique
Sub quo tunc vana cessabit gloria cleri.

(ed. Holder-Egger, *loc. cit.*) According to the Mainz glossator these verses are not of the 13th, but of the 15th century, for he puts them under a heading which reads: 'Nota versus propheticas in concilio Constanciensi a patriarcha Anthiocheno W.' This must refer to Václav Králík, dean of St Peter's on the Vyšehrad from 1397 to 1439, bishop of Olomouc and titular (Latin) patriarch of Antioch; Králík, who was probably a bastard of the Bohemian royal house, was a Bohemian delegate to the Councils of Pisa and Constance, and an important political and diplomatic personage at the court of Václav IV.

⁵³ I.e. Honorius II. Beside him the poem named Gregory IX and Innocent IV.

⁵⁴ The passage occurs both in MS. Prague *Telesphorus* quoted on p. 50, n. 47, and in the second MS. Prague *Telesphorus* (University Library, Cod. V G. 7). Cf. Truhlář, *Catalogus Manuscriptorum*. It occurs too in the printed edition of the Joachimite writings, Venice, 1516, p. xliii.

⁵⁵ The prophecy goes back, of course, to Isaiah xl, 4: 'Omnis vallis exaltabitur et omnis mons et collis humiliabitur.' Cf. St Luke iii, 5.

⁵⁶ 'Celum, sol, luna et stelle, que nunc festinant cursu irretardabili quasi cupientes in meliorem statum mutari, tunc fixa immobiliter permanebunt et quieta et mirabili glorificatione immutata', Joachim . . . Abbas, *Vaticinia*, Venice, 1515, xlii r/a.

all motion in the physical world should cease. In this habit of thought this applies not to death, but, on the contrary, to life, to that which alone makes life worth living.

As if to avoid allowing these congenial anticipations to weaken what he has said about the ferocity in the basic character of the first Lion, the writer concludes his description with the words: 'To them that dwell in the North and in the South he will be a burden and his food shall be blood.'

Hard on the end of the first half of the Prophecy begins the vaticination about him who will spring from the loins of the first Lion.⁵⁷ It is true that there is no express antithesis between the first Lion and his son; the son is to complete his father's work. But there seems to be an unconscious softening of the note of ferocity in respect of the second Lion, perhaps due to the fact that the Prophecy was composed immediately after the son's birth, though the element of ferocity is not entirely absent from the second part.

It has already been remarked on page 51 that the son was to be the expectation of Germany and of the papal party, and, to some extent in contrast with his father,⁵⁸ he desires not the cessation of movement, but rather its perpetual continuation. His spirit can find no peace, not even under the shelter of the beech-tree, and this inner restlessness is felt to be something positive, something well pleasing to God, for God will warm his heart with the breath of his mouth.

This giving of a positive value to the restlessness of the hero is remarkable; for not only did the first Lion represent the static ideal, but that ideal was typical of the Middle Ages. Movement, on the other hand, is an ideal which first appears in the Renaissance. 'Non sit quiescendum, continue sit agendum', may be taken as the keyword and badge of recognition of the new quickening of life.⁵⁹

There seems to be a certain Renaissance feeling for life which finds expression in the Bohemian Prophecy, the sort of feeling we have already met with in Henricus de Isernia. Still more conclusive in this connection is the comparison of Otakar with Alexander the Great, which we have seen was made in Sigheer's poem. It is well known that the personality of Alexander who had ruled over the East and West had greatly influenced both ancient and mediaeval legends.⁶⁰ Despite all the admiration for Alexander's heroic deeds the general judgment on his insatiability, his inability to attain

⁵⁷ The hero of the second part of the prophecy is only twice called a Lion: 'leo rugiens' and 'sequentur leonem in lustris recubantem'.

⁵⁸ Perhaps also we have here the antithesis of youth to age, of the New Age, the Renaissance, to the Middle Ages.

⁵⁹ J. L. A. Huillard Breholles, *Historia Diplomatica Friderici*, II (1852-61), IV, p. 246, quoted from Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, I, p. 435.

⁶⁰ See Kampers, *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage*, 1901.

satisfaction, was on the whole adverse;⁶¹ but not so in our prophecy. For a Last Ruler of Ghibelline stamp, this voyage into the unending, the land without frontiers, is very apt. In this case it was felt to be good and praiseworthy.

The second part of the Prophecy describes its hero as setting out from Europe into the fabled East.⁶² He undertakes a crusade which is to have complete and final success; and that is the greatest achievement that was expected of the Last Ruler, whether Angel Pope or Angel Emperor.⁶³ The task was not merely the conquest of the Holy Land, but also the subjugation and conversion of the Islamic world. As has already been said, the expectation was that the Greek Christians, Christendom itself, and all mankind would acknowledge 'unis pastor et unum ovile',⁶⁴ as the more specifically religious prophecies declared.

In the Bohemian Prophecy the religious *motif* is not merely not emphasised; it is completely absent. Neither God nor Christ is mentioned.⁶⁵ Even the victory over Islam is regarded politically: the second Lion will sit in Zion, Jerusalem will be restored and five Moslem kingdoms will be overthrown.⁶⁶ Two Moslem kingdoms (Alexandria and the principality of 'Miramomeline') will resist for a time, but not for long. At last the World Empire is set up and is recognised by the ambassadors of the most diverse nations.⁶⁷ It is no coercive state, no tyranny, for the nations recognise the second Lion willingly as their lord. His rule is called an 'exaltacio', an elevation.⁶⁸

⁶¹ See *ibid.* for the often repeated legend of Alexander's ten questions to the Elders of the South. Cf. *Talmud*, paragraph 'Tamid', 316-32a. For the influence of the Stoa on these legends, see Wallach, 'Indian Gymnosophists in Hebrew Tradition', *American Academy for Jewish Research*, 1941.

⁶² I.e. if all these names (Babylon, Damascus, Antioch, Alexandria, etc.) are not merely allegorical. This hardly seems probable, because the Prophecy expressly says: 'meridiem atque aquilonem expectationi Germanie relinquendo'.

⁶³ Kampers, *Kaiseridee*; Baethgen, *op. cit.* The voyage across the 'aquas congregatas' had already acquired something of a fabulous fame, despite the fact that many crusaders had undertaken it.

⁶⁴ Baethgen, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁶⁵ The only religious word that occurs is in the phrase: 'Tumulus eius erit in terra sancta.'

⁶⁶ They are allegorically named Babylon, Damascus, Tyre, Sidon and Antioch.

⁶⁷ As far as I know the word 'nacio' is not found in Joachimite literature before 1270. The Joachimite writers use the word 'populus'. In my opinion Joachim himself gives to the word 'populus' a stronger Italian-national accent, as Grundmann (*Forschungen*, *supra*, p. 54) is willing to admit. It is well known that the Commentaries on the Prophets, written about 1250, were much more strongly national than Joachim himself. Nevertheless the Commentaries do not speak of a 'nacio', and the word 'populus' occurs very seldom. More often the people concerned is called by its own name, and that very frequently. The *Commentarium in Isaiam* (Venice, 1516, p. 27r): 'Secundum tertii status exordium, in quo reges Syrie Gallos et Anglicos prefigurant.' The *Comment. in Jeremiam* (Cologne edition, 1527, p. A 1r) says: 'Josias . . . Leonem papam ex concordia respicit, in cuius diebus et deinceps, libertatis ecclesiastice gloriam ab Alemannis principibus evertendam Amos propheta deplorat.'

⁶⁸ That this 'exaltacio' was considered the quintessence of the Prophecy is to be seen from the fact that in later references to it in literature 'exaltacio' is regarded as its characteristic. The abbot Neplach of Opatovice writes in his Chronicle under the year 1277:

The seat of the World Ruler will be, it seems, Jerusalem, which is probably what is meant by the 'lion's den'. In another Joachimite work one of the dominating figures is the lion rising from his den who is likened to the sun rising out of the sea.⁶⁹ The last sentence of the Prophecy finishes on the dynamic theme of unquiet, the upward striving beyond the boundaries of the globe: 'spiritus eius astra petens inter divos computabitur.'⁷⁰ This conclusion and culmination of the Prophecy so clearly links its hero with the ancient classical world that it raises associations quite antithetical to the mediaeval conception of the Last Ruler. On the basis of the description of the Antichrist in II *Thessalonians* ii, 4 the Middle Ages had developed a picture of the Antichrist which is much like that given in the Prophecy as that of the Last Ruler. In one of the Alexander epics of the 13th century the angel guarding Paradise replies to the messengers: 'I will not depart hence until another king shall come who will extend his realm wider than did Alexander, for he shall desire to ascend unto the stars.'⁷¹ He who will ascend to the stars is the Antichrist.

We cannot fail to recognise that the picture of the two Lions afforded by the Bohemian Prophecy, that of unquiet, exaltation, striving for the stars, oscillates between that of the Last Ruler and that of the Antichrist. In fact the historical Otakar II was envisaged by his contemporaries in just this ambiguous way as 'rex aureus' and as 'rex ferreus'.⁷² It seems that this contradiction, this polarity, in Otakar's personality interested and fascinated his contemporaries and not least the author of the Prophecy.

If one compares the Bohemian Prophecy with its predecessors, the Thuringian Prophecies, on the one hand and the theological literature of Joachim and the Joachimites on the other, it becomes clear that the Bohemian Prophecy is *sui generis*. In comparison with its Thuringian kin it is longer, more carefully composed and richer in

'Quem casum et mortem exaltacionem in tanto principe Joachim abbas legitur ante nativitatem predixisse'. (*Fontes rerum bohemicarum*, III, p. 477.) Neplach had not read the Prophecy, he had only read about it; he gives an erroneous description of its contents as a prophecy of 'King Otakar's fate and end'.

⁶⁹ Cf. the Joachimite 'Commentarium in Oraculum Cyrilli', ed. P. Piur in K. Burdach, *Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation*, II, p. 4.

⁷⁰ Since the time of Frederick Barbarossa deceased Holy Roman Emperors had been called 'divi', but it was not till the time of Frederick II that the word acquired great significance. See Kantorowicz, *op. cit.*, I, p. 215.

⁷¹ 'Faits des Romains,' quoted by Kampers, *Alexander, supra*, p. 83.

⁷² 'Quis enim non possit mirari de tam magnifico principe, qui ab utero matris sue vocatus est rex aureus.' Annales Ottacarienses ad annum 1264, *F.R.B.*, II, p. 326. The Austrian-biased Annals of Robert of Salzburg say: 'Et licet a multis millibus hominum (Ottacarus) mortuus visus fuerit, . . . adhuc tamen Bohemi non minus de reditu suo referunt quam Britones faciunt de Arturo.' The *Peterschronik* of Erfurt (*M.G.SS.*, IX, p. 805) however wrote of Otakar after his defeat and death in 1278: ' . . . qui eciam inter Tartaros ferreus rex vocabatur.' (*M.G.SS.*, XXX, p. 417). Šusta, *op. cit.*, II, 1, pp. 34 ff. exhaustively records both the overestimates and underestimates of Otakar made by his contemporaries.

its themes and images. A certain immanent poetical truth raises it above the character of mere political propaganda, though it obviously is that too. On the other hand it is distinguished by its classical associations and its poetry from the form of commentary in which the Joachimite literature, at least before 1270, is cast. In view of its style, of its prophetic and classical repertoire, and of certain Renaissance *motifs*, it is not impossible that the author of this Bohemian 'Joachim' Prophecy was the Italian Master Henricus de Isernia.⁷³

⁷³ The English translations of Meister Sigeher were kindly made for me by Professor Leonard Forster.